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854 he falls, no attempt is made to pick him up un-
856 less he cries for some time.

The first experimentation in crawling and walking is largely left to the child. But when he tries to stand, he is helped. One person steadies the toddler, while another stands a few feet away with outstretched hand, coaxing him to "Come to me." The child soon learns such commands as "Walk," "Go to auntie," and so forth. The parents are proud of the child's accomplishment and show off his ability to visitors.

862 A child continues to nurse until he is two or three years old. Some mothers allow him to nurse as long as he pleases, but ordinarily there is a conscious effort at weaning.[1] The mother rubs her breasts with pitch or charcoal, both to impart a bitter taste and to give a frightening appearance. Some mothers wean their children by staying out of sight for several days while an aunt or other relative takes care of the child. If the mother becomes pregnant
[842] again, weaning is hastened. However, it is considered a disgrace to be pregnant while a child is still nursing. No one respects a couple who have children less than two or three years apart. The couple is expected to refrain from intercourse during the nursing period.

863 There is no set age at which toilet training begins. Some families hasten the process; others are extremely lax. Two years seems to be about the average age at which training is begun. The mother takes the child out to the bushes and shows him where to urinate and defecate. He is told to have some adult accompany him to the bushes when he wishes to relieve himself. Thereafter the child is scolded or whipped when he makes a mistake.

856 A child begins to say a few words when about a year old. He has probably acquired a few meaningless syllables even before that, such as the "aam" mentioned above. Children repeat these syllables as they rock back and forth. "It keeps them busy and out of trouble."

The first true word that the individual learns is "mother." At about the same time the child acquires an understanding of simple commands like "dirty" (spoken when he puts unclean objects in his mouth) and "don't" (repeated whenever he gets near the fireplace or other dangerous places).

867 The second word the child learns to articulate is "father." The terms for brother and sister are acquired somewhat later even though older siblings are often assigned to the task of tending the baby. The terms for the paternal grandparents are among the first to be learned, and thereafter the child is told the terms for other relatives with whom he lives. Because of patrilocal residence children normally learn the words for their paternal relatives first. But the teaching of kinship terms is not restricted to those for relatives in the same house group. There is an effort to teach the child the proper

[1] Ibid., elements 3294-3303.

(ca. 1875)

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867 terms for all his relatives, whether he has seen them yet or not. This is considered one of the most important things a child must learn.[8]

With the knowledge of kinship terms the child acquires certain attitudes toward his relatives, although patterns of behavior toward particular kin do not seem to be very clearly [593] defined among the Klamath. Parents are re- [603] spected and obeyed, as are grandparents though a certain amount of indulgence and teasing is to [604] be expected from the latter. Uncles and aunts are shown considerable respect. Cousins call [605] each other by sibling terms; those of opposite sex play together freely when small but are told that it is not proper to "play rough" with each other. Even small children learn that marriage between cousins is "a very bad thing," and that children from such an incestuous union will never live.

856 There is some effort to teach the child the names of objects by pointing to them and repeating the word, but he probably acquires more of his vocabulary simply by listening to adult conversation. There is no baby talk or any attempt to simplify words for the children. If the child mispronounces or misuses words, he is laughed at and corrected.

553 Children acquire their personal names in a casual manner at any time from birth to the age of five or six. There is no ceremony connected with naming, and some individuals receive two or three names which may all be in use at the same time. Names are, for the most part, of the nickname variety and refer to some personal mannerism or peculiarity.[9] In addition, some refer to spirits, birds, or animals. Names are given by the parents or other relatives. One person

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EARLY CHILDHOOD

857 By the time a child is three he begins to play with other children, parents encouraging group play. Children from all social strata play together. "After all, you can't keep kids apart." Children of chiefs or shamans are no [848] different from the rest. Illegitimate children are looked down upon by the community as a whole, but they are not segregated from their age-mates.

[865] At first the youngsters are apt to start fights with each other, but the parents are usually on hand to stop rough play. A child who fights all the time brings disgrace to his family and especially to himself. He must play by himself for awhile. "Everyone knows he has been bad; no one likes him." He is ashamed and experiences great remorse when he is told he cannot play with other children.

Three- and four-year-olds find a variety of

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[8] See Spier, pp. 62-68, for a discussion of the Klamath kinship system.

[9] Naming customs and typical names are given by Spier, pp. 59-61, and Voegelin, elements 3306-3321.

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538 purposes of telling the stories seems to be to keep the children quiet and put them to sleep.

867 Concepts of etiquette and what constitutes a well brought up individual are clearly defined among the Klamath. Standards for proper behavior toward one's own family and toward other members of the tribe are taught at an early age. As soon as the child can understand what is said to him, he receives ethical advice from parents and others. Not only relatives but also other [887] adults may give advice. Elderly people are especially apt to counsel children.

> Old people start giving advice right away whenever they meet you. They tell you to be kind to everyone, don't brag, don't put yourself before anyone, work hard and you'll live a long time and be respected by everybody.

593 867 Either parent may take the responsibility of advising the children, but the father is generally stricter. In the early morning and at night, and "whenever everyone is gathered around and it is quiet" the father exhorts his children to be good and kind and to help others, demanding and receiving the attention of his youngsters for these harangues.

867 858 Since a well mannered child brings some prestige to his family, even a very small one is taught how to conduct himself before visitors; and the highest respect is shown to large families whose children are polite and well behaved.[36]

858 574 Visiting is a favorite pastime, especially in the fall after the winter house has been prepared. When visitors arrive, they are offered something to eat. At this point, the children are sent out to play; for "food will stick in the visitors' gullets if children stay around." Exemplary children learn to disappear without being told whenever visitors arrive.

867 264 Eating involves a few rules of etiquette for the young. Meals are not regular, and all are free to take food when there is any available. Ordinarily the family eats at least two meals a day, in the morning and again in the evening. The whole family eats together, and children are told to wait until the father has said a grace, holding a bit of food or water out toward the mountains, lake, and earth as an offering. If this were not done, the children might become ill.

Immediately afterwards all start eating. There is no particular seating arrangement. Children are required to sit quietly during the meal. "They would choke if they ran around or talked." Children are also told never to walk in front of anyone who is eating--a rule doubly important if the person is a shaman.

869 778 An important part of training consists in developing respectful attitudes toward the many sacred places in Klamath territory. Children

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[36] See Spier, p. 91, for a few of the Klamath rules of etiquette.

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868 not all men are good hunters.[39] Hides are valuable, however, and a good hunter gains prestige. Part of the rigid physical training of the boys is directed toward preparing them for hunting. They are told, "Only smart ones who aren't lazy can be good hunters."

As previously mentioned, boys begin to learn the use of bow and arrow when very young. After learning to shoot at targets, groups of boys hunt birds and squirrels near camp. They kill these easily with their small bows and light arrows. Parents are very proud of boys who can get many animals. The boys also go

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CONCLUSION

124 Since the data presented here were collected from elderly individuals and not from direct observations on a living culture, one should perhaps be rather cautious in arriving at any conclusions about Klamath education. Most informants were bitter about the breakdown of culture which they have seen in the present generation of young Indians. They often reiterated their belief that children were much better reared in the old days. There are, however, certain generalizations which may be validly drawn.

861 There is really no formal education in the sense of organized, planned instruction of the young. Yet most families expect their children to conform to certain ideals, and the parents work for the achievement of these goals.

864 For the first two or three years of life, the child's every want is supplied by his mother. It is she who feeds him, attends to his needs, and watches him most closely, although the father or older siblings may tend the child for short periods. The infant receives little or no fondling, but he is often the center of attraction for the adults of his house group who pause and talk to him as they pass his cradle.

867 In about his third year, the child is thrust into active play with his age-mates. He
• 867 learns that he is expected to be brave, strong, and fearless. He receives praise from parents and other relatives if he is fast and ambitious. If he is lazy or cowardly, he is teased and scolded. Girls as well as boys must learn to be active, energetic, and competitive.

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[39] For hunting methods and customs, see Barrett, pp. 246 f., Spier, pp. 155-160, and Voegelin, elements 1-189.

Grandma Williams: Female, Age 67

Background Data

*159 156 Understandably, it is difficult to find a match for a person like Weasel, particularly in the instance of a woman who occupies a similar status. The few [595] Klamath women who were like Weasel were not available for testing. Grandma [733] William's position is that of the mother of a large, disorganized nuclear family [83] like Weasel's, one marked by excessive drinking, violence, and promiscuity. [587] She is a vigorous, hearty, earthy old woman who has borne eight children by [871] three husbands. She is once divorced and twice widowed, her first husband [198] having died after three years of marriage, her third after thirty-five. She completed six years of school, all that was available when she was a girl, and she has lived and visited for extended periods in Washington state, Missouri, California, and Mexico.

[657] Grandma William's mother was a traditional Klamath wife and mother, and her father [464] for years an Agency Indian policeman. In her words, both her family of orientation and her family of procreation have had "bad luck." This bad luck consists of numerous bouts with the law over acts of violence. Her father died in the Federal penitentiary where he was serving a life sentence for murder. Several of her sons have killed men in the past. One is reputed to have killed at least five, and he is now in a State institution. Her other children are noted for their violence, and local informants say of Grandma that they cannot understand how such "a wonderful, good old lady managed to produce so many worthless children." [577] Few feel that she deserves such a fate. Community acceptance of Grandma Williams [177] is based upon several attributes, her steady, hard work, her commitment to raising a family, her devoutly Christian behavior, her espousal of dominant White values, and, especially, her hearty good humor. She has never accepted the guilt of either her father or her sons, maintains that they were falsely accused, and has worked steadily to secure her one son's pardon.

[91] Grandma Williams was raised in a Klamath speaking household and acquired her [871] English in school. She is very proud of her education and maintains that chil- [593] dren today are not so well tutored in the 3 Rs as she was. She claims that "I [603] can just about out-spell, out-write, and out-figure all of my kids." This is by no means the only aggressive, competitive attitude she maintains towards her *861 children, none of whom have ever quite lived up to her standards. In this respect, Clifton was once able to witness her training a grandson, who was an alert, spontaneous, active lad. The boy was made to be too polite and too formal, behaviors in keeping perhaps with urban middle-class society, but very much out of place on the reservation. All of her sons have maintained their main affiliations with the local "cowboy" culture, but they are ridiculed for their efforts at riding and calf roping because of their obesity and clumsyness, none of them coming near, in physical type, to the slim hipped, pencil shaped cowboy ideal. [657] She is an excellent example of a woman who, early in the reservation period, was [871] carefully tutored by conscientious minister-teachers in inappropriate behaviors [177] and values, and who has attempted to transmit these to her children. It would seem that she has produced over-trained, and mis-trained, hostile children, who promptly discovered that regardless of their veneer of "culture" they were rejected from many local circles because of their Indianness.

*159 157 156 Grandma is a direct, forceful person, another Klamath woman with a sharp wit (yet a less personal one than Aunt May's). She is quick to initiate interchanges and to attempt to knit together a strained situation. Yet her responses